631 is highly variable, ranging from complete subjection to quasi-independence.

565 The imperial clan, or, if one prefers, the dominant clan, most often prevails over people of races other than that [563] of its own members; frequently this clan itself includes, at least originally, diverse ethnic elements. [158]

If such heterogeneous associates are to live side by side without clashing, they must have a large body of common customs, and this indeed is the case. Wherever one studies it, the native milieu resembles a compartmented area whose individual sections seem, at first glance, to be isolated. At the top of the social structure there is a kind of nobility composed of the head of the clan, his family, and then the families of the clan; next come the free men, simply free or members of castes; and finally the slaves. In actual fact, a continual reciprocal movement between these elements welds all of them together.

614 The fact is that the whole social body exists only 596 through the severity of the life of the cells that compose it: the families. Among other characteristics, these families are very jealous of their respective independence; nevertheless, they are closely allied among themselves even as they freely absorb the foreign element constituted by the slaves.

It is, therefore, essential to concentrate our attention on the family cell in order to understand the essential element of native social life. This is all the more true in that all the native collectivities are, so to speak, modeled on the organization of the family.

The Bambara language has no word exactly equivalent to our word "family" in the legal sense (1). Different names

1. This is why we prefer the term "community," but in view of the remarks made here, the use of the word "family" will not be ambiguous.

are used to designate the collectivity under the authority of the

614 fa (2), according to whether the group itself is meant or the
596

> 2. Fa means "lord," "master," "patriarch," or "father," depending on the circumstances. Within the family, it corresponds very closely to the titular incumbent of such rank and high office who led Mistral [Ed., a French poet] to call his father: "my lord father," or "the master."

place which this collectivity occupies.

571 Let us note at the start that any collectivity forming
575 an association is a ton'; thus, this is the case for all persons under the authority of one fa, and from this point of view, each of them is a ton'-den', literally, "a child of the ton'," i.e., member of the ton'. The word ton'-denya derives from the same word and is commonly used as a collective designation for all the members of the same ton'. This is the equivalent of the French word [159] société [Ed., society, association] or confrérie [Ed., brotherhood, confraternity]. The head of the ton' is the ton'-tigi, a term by which honor is paid to the head of an important family, and which, in some respects, is the equivalent of our [Ed., French] words notable [Ed., person of note, dignitary] and notabilité [Ed., notability, principal person].

614 If one considers the family as an association of the
596 issue of the same parents, the term ba-denya is used, derived from ba-den'. Since the word ba means "mother" and, in the broad sense, "progenitor," mother or father, the word ba-den' is used for any of their issue, hence "children," "brothers," and "relatives," while ba-denya means "fraternity" "kinship."

Although, in the restricted sense in which we shall use it, the word ton' refers to anyone living under the authority of the ton'-tigi, whether or not he is connected by descent, the more exact term, ba-denya, refers only to those whose

614 descent is in the male line from a common male ancestor or,
596 even more narrowly, to uterine brothers and sisters. The two terms, ton' and ba-denya, have a meaning which differs from that of our word "family," which is defined in our legal terminology as "the totality of persons united by ties of kinship or affinity."

592 The Bambara family lives in huts which are connected by an enclosure or completely surrounded by the enclosure when its two extremities are supported on a kind of vestibule (blon'). The enclosure is called gwa in some dialects, whence the name gwa-tigi, a term of respect for the fa, master of the house.

Gwa, therefore, means "family" only indirectly, and it is very difficult to reconcile this word with the word "family," since the gwa houses people who are not members of the family and, on the other hand, does not house all the members of the family.

Besides, it should be noted that the word gwa in its meaning of "enclosure" is used to designate all sorts of agglomerations likewise enclosed, notably livestock folds. The variants wore and gore, which are more specifically applied to these folds, may also be used, and actually are in some regions, in forming the names of settlements. The form kore or kori, common in expressions of courtesy, has the same meaning; kori ka kende? means literally, "Is all the house well?" [160]

In some Bambara dialects, the word so is used instead of gwa. The primary meaning of the word so is also "enclosure" and, more especially, "hedge of thorns," by which all primitive establishments are protected; so-tigi has the same meaning as gwa-tigi. The word so also means "household," i.e., the contents of a house, including all within it, whether on a permanent or temporary basis and whether or not belonging to the family.

It is common practice, however, to use so and gwa in the narrow sense of "people of the family," i.e., those living under the authority of the same fa.

592 It may be said, in short, that there is no exact term
601 for designating expressly and exclusively a collectivity
596

592 comparable to what our law defines as a family. In fact, the
60/ four terms just discussed, ton', ba-denya, gwa, and so, are
596 all used for the purpose. It is what is intended by their use that gives them their meaning, and depending on the region, each term has a meaning made precise by usage.

592 The dwelling of the Bambara family usually includes
342 a fairly large number of huts of various kinds. Some are cylindrical and built of native masonry with a conical straw roof and, for a door, a slit or opening which does not extend all the way to the ground. Others are parallelepiped, made of native masonry, and ordinarily also provided with no opening except the door.

Shelters (gwa), consisting of flat straw roofs supported on forked sticks, are usually placed haphazardly or wherever the master of the house wants them and are certainly not governed by any traditional rules or fixed orientation. All these dwellings or out-buildings are enclosed by either a clay wall
[343] or an unbroken hedge whose two ends are supported by the walls of the hut called blon' which serves as a vestibule for the establishment.

[178] The altar of the ancestors and of the household gods is found in the blon'.

The houses of notables are somewhat more elaborately arranged: instead of a single inner court, there are two, three, or even more, sometimes graduated in extent. The master arranges his people in such a way as to divide into sections the heterogeneous elements gathered together under his protection.
592 The domestic servants and the young [161] men, the women, girls, and small children, and finally the eventual successor are, as it were, fenced apart in their own blocks of dwellings, while the fa himself is to be found in impressive isolation, which lends weight to his authority.

592 Among great personages, especially among heads of clans, this arrangement is the rule, and their isolation deep in
712 the interior is virtually a security measure. In the old days a kind of fortress or redoubt, the tata, was built in the center of the royal residence. Gunpowder, weapons, and all the means of defense were kept there, and it was no easy matter to capture

592 this well-built structure in the midst of the inextricable maze
[712] of surrounding huts which were themselves surrounded by a solid wall of native masonry.

[565] The people of a single household are classed in three categories: free men (woro-u), members of castes (nya-maka-la), and slaves (dyon'-u).

● 596 The freemen. Within the family, free persons are:
561 the men (tye-u), i.e., circumcised males; the moso-u, ex-
601 cised women; the den'-u, children of both sexes.

In accordance with their influence (faya) in the family, the men are called koro-u, old men, elders, or kamalen'-u, young masters. Among the old men the bina (uncles), brothers of the fa, hold the preponderant position; they form a kind of limited family council and generally work for the welfare of the community under the direction of the fa.

Among the women the following distinctions are made: the mothers, i.e., women under the control of a husband and who are actually mothers of children, ba-u; old women, moso-koro-u; grandmothers, mama-u; and finally unmarried girls, moso-de-u.

All children are called de unless they are specifically identified as de-n-ke, "boy," or de-moso or deni, "girl."

601 Furthermore, every male with any influence (faya) in the family, no matter to what extent, is called fa (1): [162]

> 1. In one way or another, therefore, every male is fa, since he exercises or will one day exercise faya. The word fa is jokingly applied even to very young boys just as ba is applied to little girls. These words may be used just like our familiar expressions when we say "Father X" or "Mother X" with no reference intended to any real state of fatherhood or motherhood.
>
> In any case, the words fa and ba are also used as terms of respect, just as we

The Patriarchal Community

When the fa is dead, all his property remains jointly among his legal heirs, thus constituting a patriarchal community whose investigation has two parts: the community of persons and the community of property. [173]

I. The Community of Persons

Members of the community. The patriarchal community is made up solely of the legitimate descendants of the deceased fa: immediate descendants (sons and daughters), or his descendants exclusively in the male line (descendants of his sons and grandsons).

The descendants of the fa through his daughters are outside the community since they belong to the patriarchal communities of their respective fathers.

If, at his death, the fa leaves no male heirs, there can be no patriarchal community; his property is divided among his daughters or, if there are none, among his brothers. If only a father or mother or some other ascendant were left, his property would go to them, or if he leaves only daughters, his property goes to them, but in either case there will no longer be a community.

Legitimacy is the necessary and sufficient condition for inclusion as a member of the community. A legitimate child is one born of a marriage, that is, of a union between two free individuals that conforms to custom. When slavery introduced concubinage into the household, however, the rule was relaxed because a free man was unwilling to have his sons slaves. In practice, therefore, maternity resulting from intercourse with a free man frees his concubine from slavery, and the children of the union become members of the community. This dangerous privilege is often contested by agnate brothers born of free mothers.

Given the diversity of conjugal bonds, ranging from marriage to free union, it is easy to imagine the discussions that

848
596 arise on the subject of legitimacy. During the fa's lifetime,
614 his authority imposes whatever solution pleases him, but when
578 he is gone, the disputes involving status are all the more violent for having been suppressed or evaded for so long.

614 These disputes gain strength also from the difference in
596 rank which the members have within the community. The totality of prerogatives of all kinds which raise the fa above all others constitutes a kind of superior dignity whose essence is the omnipotence covered by the word faya, from which came the title fa [174] (master, lord). It is in reference to the faya that the members of the community are ranked.

[562] Only male members can advance claims to the faya, and because they can do this, they can all call themselves fa. On the other hand, women can never hold this authority; they are fantan'-u, "powerless."

596 Among the fa-u there are distinctions based on degree of
614 kinship and on age; those most closely related to the fa will be
601 the first to receive the honors about to be described. Male
561 descendants in the first degree form a sort of senate of which the eldest is a kind of president-by-birth; he is truly the fa, the actual representative of the deceased. The one immediately following him by rank in terms of age is his syere (follower), his heir presumptive at the head of the community. The other senators, usually brothers of the fa, are uncles (bina-u) to the descendants of the second degree and their children. By reason of the authority associated with the position of bina-u in the community, this kinship term has come to be a title of respect which is bestowed on men toward whom one wishes to show particular esteem (1). Because of their age,

1. It is worthy of note that in Uncle Tom's Cabin, Miss Stowe explains that among the slaves in America the word "uncle" had precisely this meaning as a title of respect and honor.

all the senators of the community are commonly called koro-u, "the elders," and the fa is first among them.

561 Among the rest of the men in the community, one
596 distinguishes those who, being circumcised, are married and
614 even fathers of families or who are about to become one or the other; these men are called kamalen'-u, literally, "the young masters." Finally there are the uncircumcised: first, the adolescent boys called soli-ma-u, "people of the soli," that is to say, who will soon be circumcised; the others are small boys (den-tye-u).

596 The fa, his election and installation. The personage
614 in the community on whom all attention is concentrated is the fa.

Even if during the life of the fa his successor is known, it does not always happen that the replacement will follow as was intended. [175]

In the first place, the designated heir is free to refuse the faya for any reason he pleases, including solely that of personal convenience. The chronicle of Ségou relates that Biton's son, who lived at Oftala, refused the faya because of the excesses of the "people of Ségou."

More often, however, the faya eludes claimants for two main reasons.

No one can become fa if he does not belong to the community. Hence, anyone who ceases to be a member of the community, whether voluntarily or not, cannot attain the faya. One may cease to belong to the community either in fact or by law. The former condition would include prolonged absence, enslavement, settling abroad without hope of return, etc. This brings about a kind of suspension of the exercise of rights, but not their abrogation. On the other hand, when the member expressly renounces the community or when he is excluded by the decision of the fa (1) and the senate, he is

1. So it was that Ma-n-son decreed that his brothers Séri and Ba were excluded from the faya, because they merely looked on as spectators when he was struggling with Nyana-n-koro and had thus shown themselves hostile to the fa.

596 deprived of his rights, he and subsequently those who would
614 represent him; the branch of the family of which he is head is henceforth dead so far as the family is concerned.

In the second place, no member of the community
[848] attains the faya unless he fulfills certain conditions, of which the first are legitimacy and primogeniture.

The fact that the claimant is a member of the com-
[578] munity implies that he is legitimate. Since it does happen, however, that the question may not have actually been investigated or, by the wish of the fa, not even been raised, the legal heirs who would be injured and intriguers who seek any pretext -- and there are always some of these persons -- raise the question, and infinite complications often follow.

Primogeniture is equally subject to challenge, and the opposition everywhere finds it a convenient motive for their
[595] machinations. It is, indeed, understandable that in polygamous households, with the wives sometimes residing in various places apart from the husband, simultaneous or at least close births give rise to disagreements as to which son was in fact the first-born.

Finally, even though he may actually be the eldest legitimate son, the claimant may find himself passed over because of measures taken [176] against him by the late fa. It appears that although custom favors the eldest legitimate son, it yields to the expressed wishes of the fa if the senate agrees to his rejecting the candidate. This is a grave step and one which may lead to the most violent reactions.

This raises the question of whether special talents or aptitudes should be required of the claimant, over and above those of legitimacy and primogeniture. For example, can he be required to be healthy, active, and a good administrator? It appears that the senate may choose to eliminate a person it deems unworthy. This applies particularly to a free man who has voluntarily fallen from that state by living like a caste member or a slave. By this behavior he has already excluded himself from the community, but it sometimes happens that his actual exclusion has not been noted or announced before the question of accession to the faya arises.

596 614 Most often, however, the debates are concerned either with legitimacy or with primogeniture, and it is by no means rare for a fa, before his death, to insist that the one chosen be the one designated by custom and to threaten to call down curses on anyone who should try to bypass him or to reject his authority (1).

1. Ngolo and Ma-n-son both acted in this manner, according to the chronicle of Ségou.

In associations which have adopted a community organization analogous to that of the family, the election of a head is determined solely by these factors. It may be concluded that these are the bases consecrated by custom and that any other arrangements can only result in the worst kind of disagreement.

567 578 596 614 There is confirmation for this. Where slaves are numerous and well organized, they may refuse to recognize the new fa and choose another from among the members of the community. They may even decide to give themselves to a foreign master on the pretext that the fa imposed upon them by custom does not meet with their approval. This is a disaster which jeopardizes the wealth, strength, and even the unity of a family, for it can happen, in order to deal with the crisis, that a compromise is made which more or less ignores the regularly designated fa. This results in wrangling which usually ends with a schism in the community.

The history of these countries tells of many such cases, [177] because the slaves, upon becoming powerful, made the law in the families. The chronicle of Ségou thus relates that the slaves belonging to Dina Wara gave themselves to Biton upon the death of the former. It goes without saying that endless intrigues always precede such defections. The really successful fa, such as Biton, earned their reputations as able politicians and increased their fortunes precisely by their ability to avoid such disasters in their own communities, while stirring them up elsewhere. [662]

596
614 In principle, even a duly recognized fa is not installed until 40 days after the death of his predecessor. When there is no dispute, he in fact functions as fa at once; when, on the other hand, there is disagreement, the period may be extended.

The 40 days do not create an hiatus between the two administrations. When the new fa is installed, however long a time may have passed since the death of the predecessor, his faya is considered to date from the day of the latter's death. That is why the temporary official makes an inventory accounting for everything, if possible in the presence of the new fa, so that there will be no question when he turns over the inheritance.

Thus, this delay imposed by beliefs (ascribable, apparently, to magic) governed by respect for the mysterious workings of nature, has given rise to a kind of suspension of civil affairs, which allows the community to accept only a chief whom it recognizes because he fulfills the conditions required by custom.

Once he is recognized and installed, the fa continues in office no matter what befalls him; he cannot be removed for any reason whatsoever. When he is physically and morally unable to act, however, he is replaced by his eventual successor. So it was that when Sounsan was very old, he relinquished the faya to Massa who, in turn, did the same thing with respect to Béni-Fali.

It may even come about that the chosen fa is absent for an indefinite period. This happened, as we have seen, in the case of Dessé-koro, who was a prisoner at Ségou. He was not superceded, but in order to avoid the difficulties of an indefinite interregnum, Sira Bo was asked to take over the faya. He agreed only on condition that he would not be dispossessed if Dessé-koro should return. Mo-Siré, "little brother" (duani), i.e., uterine younger brother of Dessé, [178] promised in Dessé's name that Sira Bo would remain fa as long as he lived. When Dessé returned, he respected the promise made in his name by his duani. This is a typical example of the manner in which compromises can be made with custom.

596 614 The functions of the "fa." The duties of the fa are many and complex; for the sake of clarity, we shall study them under three headings: cult; relations between communities; administration of property (which will be studied in connection with community property).

596 614 782 Cult. Religion gives considerable strength to the family since nothing is decided without consulting the manes and the gods. Raffenel has given us a picture of old Niany praying to his manes on behalf of his absent son: "O my God, I command my son to your case since he has gone away on a mission important to all of us. Be with him on his journey. Preserve him from the wicked and from all misfortune so that he may once again enter by this door through which he departed and before which I am now kneeling. I implore you, O my God, to restore him to my love and to that of his mother, his brothers and his sisters (1)."

[114]

1. In spite of deviations due to Raffenel's desire to give a personal and literary touch to what he reports, the essential points of this prayer are accurate, and that is why I quote it.

[787] The chronicle of Kaarta tells us that old Sounson begged for early death as a sign that his lineage would be powerful in the future. Also, in order to make a prophecy come true, Deniba Bo submitted to the fatal blows of the Khassonké to make sure that his people would conquer the country.

After all, no one is free of fear of the gods, not even those whom one would take for brave spirits. Raffenel tells us that Bouo, his informant, feared the wrath of the god whose secrets he had revealed. The chronicle of Ségou tells that Ngolo, thinking he had aroused the wrath of his manes by encouraging evil desires in his eldest son, Ntyi, did not hesitate to sacrifice his [179] own grandson, the son of the aforesaid Ntyi, an atrocity which bears witness to a faith that was as profound as it was barbarous.

596 614 787 It is the duty of the fa to see to the cult. He projects everything that happens to him personally to the supernatural plane so as to come to conclusions that will guide his own conduct. He discerns in the most ordinary dreams indications of what will please the dead. Furthermore, the people around him point out the signs of divine will that they have observed. If, as happens in great houses, the fa is obliged to turn over part of his responsibility to the family gods to one of his confidantes, the latter will not fail to keep him informed of anything significant that may be revealed.

[577] Thus, daily life is unceasingly dominated by the supernatural, and every important event is conditioned by these beliefs. This is readily seen in all the family institutions: birth, circumcision, marriage, and death.

[577] It follows that the moral behavior of the family is a concern of the fa. Whenever something abnormal or painful occurs, the fa looks into it. Do the dead perhaps have reason to be dissatisfied? Have they been neglected or offended? He questions them, and if he finds confirmation for his suspicions, he at once seeks to appease the manes in whatever way they desire. If the trouble persists, he investigates further, and sometimes everyone in the house is questioned or, if one prefers, made to confess, even infants. Could one of them, moved by ill feeling, have uttered maledictions when invoking the dead?

614 596 783 [578] When the fa himself is ill, this general confession is virtually obligatory. This is because the absolute authority of a fa can hardly fail to arouse hatred, and hatred, a bad counselor, makes people resort to magic to rob the more powerful of life. Fear that the elder's "clairvoyance" will discover the wickedness in the depths of one's soul and punish it usually induces the guilty person to obtain a pardon for his wrongdoing by confessing it, and then everything returns to normal.

596 614 [763] Upon the death of the fa, it is the first duty of his successor to try to discover, by any means, the causes of death and to avenge it if need be.

Everything which the old fa was wont to honor, which forms the spiritual treasure [180] of the family, must also be

596 honored by the new fa, and there is nothing to prevent him
614 from adding to the treasure.

769 The basic cult of the family is the cult of the ancestors. Although the dead are frequently buried outside the family residence, their souls are thought to live in the blon' of the dwelling. The blon' is a hut with two openings on opposite sides, one
[343 592] to the street and the other to the interior, usually the courtyard. It is impossible to enter or leave a house without going through the blon', where there is always a guard, at least in important houses. The ancestors are usually represented in the
778 769 blon' by a group of crude, conical clay figures of a man and woman, the latter identifiable by the exaggerated breasts. Sometimes the symbol of the dead is a small board about a meter long, twenty centimeters wide, and a little more than a centimeter thick; at one of its extremities a slight protuberance vaguely suggests a head, a kind of ellipsoidal cylinder with eyes, nose, mouth, and chin faintly carved on one side. On the side with the face, the board has a checkerboard pattern, often of alternating black and red squares, probably to indicate the material of a loincloth. The lower extremity of the figure has a semicircular portion cut away to give the effect of legs spread apart when the effigy is set up.

769 782 778 Whatever form it may have, the representation of the dead is called kara (1) and serves in some manner as an altar

1. In Soninké, kara means "to die" and "death."

on which libations are poured and to which are attached the remains of the sacrifices made to the dead (su-u). Nevertheless, it is also a very widespread practice to make libations and sacrifices before the door of the blon' and, more rarely, before the door of an inner hut. In this case the liquid is poured and
[775] the remains smeared on the vertical edge of the opening. This practice is based on the belief that the souls of the dead ancestors like to return to the place where the fa liked to sit during his lifetime. Undoubtedly, the ancestors are regarded as guardians of the threshold; they are [181] honored as such because it is believed that they prefer to be honored in this way.

769 It has the same base: request, offering, communion. In ad-
794 dition, there is a liturgy appropriate to each nyana, in particular, the mysterious sayings that attract the god and make him [183] the actual servitor of the person uttering these sayings, rather than a benevolent protector. This shows the antithesis as to final ends between religion and magic, as was set forth in Chapter 2 of the present work.

596 The fa also has the responsibility of maintaining the
614 efficacy of magic weapons; he must fulfill all the obligations
778 required by each of them. Among them there are true nyana, sometimes independent, sometimes a part of the great nyana. Mostly they are amulets or talismans whose virtue depends on certain rites or simply on the observance of certain interdicts.

596 Finally, the fa is the guardian of custom and family
614 relics, which likewise have a religious basis since custom,
778 after all, is the continuing will of the generations, the imperious mandate of the ancestors, the table of law of the manes. Any transgression of custom is certain to bring the worst disasters. The relics are ordinary or ceremonial objects left by the successive fa. Some of them are so strongly associated with the patriarchal office that on special occasions or in certain circumstances the fa is forced by custom to wear these objects impregnated with the virtue of the ancestors. The cap and weapons of Biton at Ségou were of this nature, and such is the case among the Massa-si.

596 Relations between members of the community. Theo-
614 retically, the powers of the fa over the members of the community are absolute. He can hire them out, offer them as security, sell them, and even put them to death (1). He also

1. Note how Ma-n-son got rid of some of his brothers.

has the right to use whatever belongs to them,(2) both persons

2. Ngolo sacrificed his son's son.

596 and property. On the other hand, he also has duties toward
614 them, for it is the essence of the institution to support its members.

561 All the acts of the fa, even the arbitrary ones, are,
578 according to law, under the control of the senate. It should
596 not be forgotten that the members of the community are di-
614 vided into two hostile groups: that of the "elders," which includes the fa, and that of the "young masters." The fa could hardly [184] keep the common property all to himself, so he shares it more or less as he pleases, and naturally, the elders are among the most generously treated. The young men seldom get any such favors, hence their resentment against the elders, due largely to envy of their favored position.

596 It is customary for a fa when he becomes the head of a
614 patriarchy to leave the management of his own community to his eldest son (1). This separation of interests is essential in

[554 492]

1. The eldest son, or better, the first-born son, thus occupies a privileged position, and in Kaarta he is usually provided with a white horse to make him conspicuous. See p. 122 about the death of 98 first-born sons mounted on white horses.

order to prevent the fa from despoiling the patriarchy to benefit his own community. The history of these countries shows how often this rule is broken by ambitious men who hope to profit by the general confusion to build up a considerable fortune. Among both the elders and the young men they find willing accomplices, and as their power increases, they extend their extortions. There are many signs, however, of the fragility of their despotism, which they themselves recognize. They usually, therefore, take pains to settle the question of succession in advance hoping to avoid the collapse of their achievements. Wasted effort! Custom, which they have ignored, regains its rights when they die and often does so during their lifetime. This is a logical explanation of the fact that

596 614 most of the great empires have survived their founders for only a short time.

More often than not, a "young master" has a position in the community which is considerably less pleasant than that of a domestic slave who lives alongside him and ostensibly under his command. A domestic slave can escape or stir up all sorts of difficulties that result in the diminution of the patrimony. There is no such thing to be feared from a member of the community; should he be punished, banished, or leave, the common property does not suffer. If he goes away and is successful, he will not fail to share his good fortune with the community. Indeed, anyone who loses interest in the welfare of his community runs the risk of being cut off from it. He must actually live with the community; if not, he is treated as a dead member. [185] He must be present for anything that transpires. The chronicle of Ségou gives an example. Quarrels broke out among Ngolo's sons when he died. Nyana-n-koro, who had been favored by his father, thought that this affection designated him as the successor to the deceased. Ngolo, however, had expressly chosen Ma-n-son in conformity with custom. Nevertheless, confident of winning, Nyana-n-koro tried to oust Ma-n-son by force, but in vain. In the course of these fratricidal struggles, certain members of the community remained neutral, hoping in this way to retain the good will of the victor. They gained nothing, however, because Ma-n-son was the winner and turned against them. He sentenced his brothers Séri and Ba to a sort of exile from the community, giving each of them a token share of the estate and ordering them not to increase it.

421 596 614 Since property is held in common, the fa is obliged to give some benefits to all the members of the community. This is why, when necessary, he provides the marriage payment that enables a young man to found a family; he ransoms persons who have been enslaved; he provides for the sick when their expenses are high; he pays civil, judicial, or other debts when the debtor is forced to pay and the community is responsible. These payments, however, which are made with the approval of the senate, are regarded as loans to the recipient with his consent, he is henceforth in debt to the community. He will not only have to repay

421 the loan but something in addition, and he will always show
● 596 his gratitude for it. If the repayment drags on and on, as
614 usually happens, the community does not withdraw his right to the debt, which is never lost; it watches for a turn for the better in the debtor's affairs, meddles in his business, and plagues his widows and children for all it can get from them after his death. The rapacity of the community uses the old debt as an excuse for seizing everything left by the debtor.

466 Every member of the community, strictly speaking, is
596 at the service of the community and must therefore cooperate
614 to assure its prosperity. If he cannot work himself, or does not wish to, in the fields, for instance, he must provide a substitute in the person of one of his children or his own slaves. To the extent that he cannot find the means to exempt himself, [186] he is treated as one of the "poor" and is forced to work.

166 It is easy to understand that the young men often leave to make their fortunes elsewhere in order to escape a power that is so suspicious, troublesome and all-pervading. Some of them never return, either because they have managed to create an independent life for themselves, or because they are more comfortable at a safe distance from their authoritarian elders. More often, however, the young man, having founded an independent family far away, keeps in close touch with his community and watches developments there in case he may one day be able to profit from them.

578 The young men who stay at home form a party of intrigue
561 which is forever at war with the fa and the senate. Their op-
885 position weakens, however, as they approach the age at which they too will participate in the faya to which they aspire. Gradually, as one changes from kamalen' to bina, he acquires the same niggling authoritarianism which then arouses the animosity of the new kamalen'-u.

562 In concluding this study of the members of the commun-
583 ity, the situation of girls remains to be discussed. Like the boys, they belong completely to the community, which, as a result, has the right to make as much profit out of them as possible. So, since exogamy is the rule, the community cedes the girl in usufruct to whoever pays the bride price, and because she will

421 Finally, the status of a community is, as it were, syn-
424 thesized and symbolized by the "honorable name" (dyamu), by
● 596 which this collectivity titles itself and which it considers one of
614 its most precious possessions.

Agrarian usufruct. Ownership of land does not exist.
423 Each family has a right of use, uncertain in principle but permanent in fact, over the lands assigned to it in the domain of the genie-protector (nyana dugu-da-siri).

It may happen that a single family is the sole beneficiary of a given domain because it is the only one linked to the genie protecting the place.

More generally, various families are under the protection of the same local genie, whose domain in that case includes the parts exploited in common as well as the fields expressly assigned to individual families under its protection. The agrarian usufruct which is included as part of the community property exists with respect to these individual fields.

This usufruct differs from that recognized by our law. It is the dugu-tigi and his council who allot the common lands, and the process always involves wrangling and [187] deals. In principle, the plot assigned remains indefinitely with the family benefited if it is continuously farmed and an annual fee is paid. Following the land for several years is permitted. The family exploiting the land may use it in any way, and its right is as complete as possible, short only of alienating it. The family may lease, cede, or pawn its usufruct. If a transaction involves a foreigner, however, it may not be concluded without the consent of the dugu-tigi, who consults his council. In general, any action which might conceivably injure the welfare of the community as a whole must be submitted to the dugu-tigi for approval before being undertaken.

The usufruct comes to an end under the following circumstances: when a family permanently leaves the community governing the fields; when the dugu-tigi and his council decide to dispose of the land for reasons which they are not required to give; when a family gives the land up voluntarily or has been deprived of it because it has been used in a manner contrary to the interests of the agrarian community.

567 unlikely -- he may even own slaves himself and use them as substitutes.

Thus the relations between master and slave gradually become very different from what our European minds imagine. A master is bound to his wolo-so [193] by a thousand ties: he admits them to the cult; he marries their daughters; he circumcises their sons along with his own; and he allies himself with some of them by fraternization or an oath.

Even if he does not have such close contact, the wolo-so who is freed from labor, who perhaps lives at some distance or, if nearby, in virtual independence, is henceforth a dyongoro, that is, "freed." The link is not severed, and the freed man is a kind of relative. He is interested in everything that happens in his master's community and is present upon all important occasions, never coming with empty hands. Reciprocally, he is never treated like a stranger by the master. The master contributes to every event concerning him: he helps him get his sons married and established; on the occasion of the soli, he assembles his children along with his own, which gives them a degree of common solidarity.

The admission of the wolo-so to his master's community is shown publicly by the fact that the wolo-so bears the dyamu of his master.

It would be an exaggeration to claim that the house slave's situation is always so fortunate; it depends on many different factors (1).

> 1. A slave is seldom permitted to buy his freedom; the slave himself does not seek this redemption which would free only him and leave his family and most of his property in the hands of the master.

551 The dyamu. This is the name given to himself by the native, bestowed upon him by others, or inherited from his ancestors, but in any case one that has become such an honor that merely to pronounce it is enough to bring forth a show of homage toward one who bears it, for example, Kouloubali, Dyara, Dembélé, etc.

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This is because the dyamu in itself sums up the history of the community that bears it; it implies everything involving the ancestors, as well as the achievements of present members, their ignominies, and even their fraternal, conjugal, political, and supernatural alliances.

One might imagine that one or another of the characteristic aspects covered by the dyamu would serve to identify the bearers of the same name, but the Europeans who study the native milieu have long been accustomed to identifying those who bear the same dyamu by means of [194] their respective tne (interdicts), and the natives do the same (1).

> 1. When this was first being done, there was an error of interpretation and hasty generalization which falsified the results. The tne which accompanies the dyamu was made analogous with totem, and it was stated that the dyamu and the name of the tne object were one and the same. Careful study has established that there is nothing to the alleged correspondence.

For the Black, any of his fellows who bears the same dyamu as his and shares with him one or more tne is regarded as a relative, even though he may belong to a different people.

Among individuals of different peoples, certain dyamu, although dissimilar, are regarded as equivalent and are interchanged, because those who bear them have common tne (interdicts).

As a result of one of the alliances that will be described later under "Relations between Communities," the tne of one party henceforth become the tne of the other, and vice versa, and this leads to the equivalence of dyamu. Marriage sometimes has the same effect when the union is an important one, greatly desired, or even more, is the sort of marriage that forms indissoluble bonds and an unshakable solidarity between families.

429 A person who is away for a long or indefinite period [217] delegates the direction of the family community for as long as necessary to a friend or relative. This substitute, however, is expected to act only in accordance with the customary counsel and the family of the absent person.

[586] In case of divorce, the children always remain with the father. A divorced woman again comes under the guardianship of her own community.

768 When the mother dies, the father retains the administration of her property which belongs jointly to her children. If, 429 however, one of her sons is married or of marriageable age and is competent, all such property is supposed to be handed over to him to administer in his capacity as fa of the uterine community.

When a father dies, his minor children are placed under the guardianship of the patriarch under whose authority the deceased was living. If he was independent, guardianship would be set up in accordance with his wishes which he would not have failed to make known.

In any event, if one of his sons is married or of marriageable age and sufficiently competent, he becomes fa of the familial community which gradually, as the younger sons grow up and establish families of their own, becomes a patriarchy such as we have described above.

[641] According to native law, deprivation of civil rights does not exist. In fact, however, persons who by reason of ill-health or senility are unable to comply with custom in carrying out their functions are supplanted by such persons as are designated by custom to replace them at the time of death.

596 Faya. The faya is the authority and power of the fa 614 over all his dependents. It has the same character, differing only in extent, whether it concerns a familial or a patriarchal community.

Familial faya. Within the family, the fa theoretically has complete authority over everything that constitutes this community. It makes little difference whether he acts on his own initiative or whether he allows himself to be swayed by the

596 614 opinion of those around him, his intimates and friends. He exercises the right of agrarian usufruct over the lands under cultivation, and he may dispose of movable property without restriction. As regards persons, his own issue [218] are at his mercy, and he profits from their labor. He can hire them out, put them up for security, sell them, and even put them to death. He has the right of conjugal usufruct over his wives, and his slaves are merely chattels.

Patriarchal faya. This differs in extent from the foregoing. Anything connected in whatever way to the patriarchal community itself or to the family communities under its authority comes under the patriarchal faya.

Though the maintenance of this power presents no problems in theory, practice is quite another matter.

The fact is that the fa of a familial community is completely subject to a patriarch only if, being connected through the male line, he has some property in the patriarchy or intends to claim rights in it.

If this is not the case, the familial fa acts as though he did not belong to the patriarchy, and the latter can only treat him accordingly. This is what happens when a "son" goes off, establishes himself far away, and prospers there by his own efforts and at his own risk. Breaking all agnatic ties, he in fact frees himself from any authority that his patriarchy might seek to impose upon him.

This has produced innumerable dissident branches which have the same dyamu but which can only hypothetically trace their descent through the males back to a common male ancestor.

428 Inheritance. It is necessary, first, to know whether the deceased was a fa or a fantan', that is, whether he exercised the authority of a fa or was under the authority of a fa.

Let us say the deceased was a fa.

In principle, if he was fa of a family, everything belonging to him remains undivided under the new faya of his eldest son.

If he was fa of a patriarchy, a new patriarch succeeds him.

It is unnecessary to belabor these points or the consequences of the variations in view of the details given above.

428 Now let us say the deceased was a fantan', that is, he did not exercise a faya. [219]

A son who dies before becoming fa rarely leaves any property. If he should by chance do so, such wealth theoretically belongs to the community of which he was a member. The disposition of property from special sources must be settled according to the nature of the source. Thus, property which the deceased may have inherited from his mother would go to his uterine heirs.

What has just been said of a son applies all the more to a daughter, since, after all, she is nothing more than a kind of property belonging to the community.

428 567 The most hapless fantan' is the slave. In principle, he could hardly be expected to leave an inheritance since even his own person does not belong to him. In fact, however, the situation is quite different. A slave generally does have some property and may even be very rich. His fa allows him the use of his property for his lifetime, and it is current practice for him to leave it likewise to his children. As a result, everything transpires just as though the deceased were a free man, and what we have said about other communities applies to this type of community which, strictly speaking, has only a kind of de facto existence. The action of custom, in freeing the slave, gives him access to the position of a free man without depriving him of what his fa has allowed him to enjoy. In the end, this enjoyment of use is gradually transformed and strengthened by inheritance until it is the equivalent of similar rights to property which are accorded to men born free.

●596 614 Order of succession. Patriarchal community. The fa is the eldest of the surviving males who are direct descendants in the male line of the fa who founded the community.

428 596 Familial community. 1. The eldest surviving son of the deceased; upon his death, succession follows the same pattern as for the patriarchal community.

614 If there are only daughters, the property is divided among them.

428 2. If there are no children, the collateral males and,
●596 lacking them, ~~the~~ wives.
614 3. If there are no collateral relatives, the ascendants.
4. If there are no ascendants, the surviving spouse.
5. If there is no surviving spouse, escheat occurs: [220] the inheritance reverts to the head of the settlement, the dugu-tigi, when this settlement is independent; otherwise to the head of the clan, the fama.

596 The community and the individual. The result of the
614 foregoing is that the individual, whoever he may be and whatever his situation, has no value except as a member of a community (1); it is the community that exists and has an identity,

[567] 1. A slave has no rights because, as a person, he belongs to no community.

while the individual exists and is identified only through the community and for the community.

An individual who exists apart from any faya is, therefore, an anomaly, and this situation comes to an end as soon as the individual himself becomes fa.

596 There are cases, however, when an individual is put out
614 of his community because of his own action or because of circumstances, and extraordinary changes of status result.
626 Anyone driven from his community for bad conduct loses his rights to the faya in that community.

564 If his disqualification results from the practice of a trade
558 regarded as degrading, he falls into what the Bambara call nyama-ka-la and Europeans call "people of caste." Henceforth he is not only excluded from his community, but he lives apart from all persons not declassed; he is a free man of inferior standing. He usually lives under the protection of a community of persons not declassed, earning his living from it and deriving from it such consideration as may be sometimes given him.

564 Among the Bambara, the nyama-ka-la include: the
463 numu, blacksmiths, whose wives are usually potters; the loro, who work with copper; the garanke, who work leather; and the kule, who work with wood and are sometimes saddlers.

564 engage only in agriculture. Furthermore, casual or temporary practice, in one's own home, for instance, of one of the reputedly menial trades is not considered degrading.

567 Theoretically, enslavement does not exclude an individ-
● 596 ual from his own community nor in any way demean him in
614 relation to it (1); if he returns, he recovers his rights just as

1. For example, Dêssé-Koro, taken in captivity to Ségou, returned to Kaarta where he exercised the faya of the Massa-si.

though he had never been away.

On the other hand, at the place where he is a slave, an individual belongs to no community (as a person), and that is why he has no rights and is treated as a chattel.

567 We have shown earlier how, aided by time and circumstances, a slave may manage to escape some of the limitations of his status, but strictly speaking, [222] he can never escape this status. If in fact, as the chronicle says of Ngolo Dyara, a slave succeeds in attaining a position whose importance would seem to obliterate the stigma of servitude, the blemish of slavery nevertheless remains indelible.

4. Relations between Communities

596 The true social unit is the community. Even when no
614 special organization links them, communities are often linked
621 by numerous bonds. This involves no distinction by race, incidentally, since more often than not ethnically diverse peoples live together in the same region.

These bonds between communities may be classified under two heads: kinship and alliance.

Kinship

[602] The influence of kinship is very extensive. Thus, a single patriarchal community includes the familial communities

596 of all the male members of the community, and agnate and
614 uterine communities coexist in each familial community.
621 Furthermore, every familial community automatically becomes
602 a patriarchal community upon the death of its head, and it is then composed of its own familial communities.

What actually happens, then, is that under the original patriarchal community are grouped an ever increasing number of other patriarchies or families, each of which includes its agnate or uterine communities. When the original patriarchy is an old one, it is obvious that a large number of persons will be living under its aegis, all of whom have dyamu and tne in common.

It may happen, however, that through time and a variety of circumstances branches become separated from the trunk, and to mark their new status, to perpetuate the memorable achievement of their founder, some of these groups have adopted a special dyamu and particular tne. At first the new dyamu is simply added to the original one, but later on the new one comes to be the only one used. However that may be, the principal characteristics [223] of the original community still persist, with a few new traits merely superimposed.

Since every secondary community in turn generates like communities, it goes without saying that the communities most distant from the original one have only a few traits in common with it, but their kinship never becomes extinct.

What are the effects of this kinship? On the one hand, it requires all concerned to observe their common duties to the community: in particular to respect ancestral traditions relative to the cult; to give mutual aid; to recognize the authority of the current fa who, for his part, is obliged to protect all his relatives, no matter how remote the connection.

As far as outsiders are concerned, kinship requires everyone to respect all pacts between communities. One can often observe fidelity to these alliances which may be hundreds of years old. If by chance people who have previously never seen each other learn of their respective dyamu and the attendant obligations, they will at once assume the reciprocal obligations contracted by their ancestors.

Alliance

596 614 621 784 The types of alliance between communities appear to differ widely, but in actual fact all alliances are based on a religious or magic rite and, more generally, on an oath.

Four forms of alliance particularly deserve attention: the tne or interdict, the oath, marriage, and the common cult.

I. The tne. The native regards the invisible world as a duplicate of the visible world, complete with communities. He carries the analogy even to those things which we call inanimate objects. That is why, when a native binds himself to an interdict, he is not promising to respect such and such a person or thing but, rather, the community of which he believes the person or thing to be a representative. Besides, just as the interdict applies to the whole community to which the object of the interdict belongs, it also binds all the members of the community whose fa instituted it. [224]

The basis of the alliance is the oath of the fa, any infraction of which automatically brings the most dreadful calamities upon the guilty party. It is like a sacrament, which the descendants of the fa must respect in infinitum.

The chronicle of Ségou shows us how such an oath happens to be made. Upon reaching the Niger, and having no means of crossing it, Ntchi in his peril called upon his ancestors for help. His prayer was answered: a poyon' appeared and ferried him and his people to the opposite shore. In gratitude for this service, Ntchi swore that the fish would henceforth be sacred to him and to his descendants. By this act, all poyon' became tne for Ntchi and his descendants, although this does not mean that there was a cult of the fish. It was a kind of alliance or covenant, analogous to one between human communities and with similar effects; it entailed some sort of reciprocal brotherly mutual aid. In practice, a Koulouba1i descended from Ntchi must never, under any circumstances whatsoever, voluntarily harm a poyon', his tne, on pain of the most disastrous consequences. If he has done so inadvertently, he can atone with sacrifices or appropriate penance, which his own intuition or a diviner suggests. He must always, in so far as the need arises,

596 614 621 784 assist his tne, while showing it the greatest respect. The mystical basis of this alliance sometimes causes the native to behave in a particular way toward his tne: he will not look straight at it; he will not touch it, unless absolutely forced to do so, and then he will apologize and ask forgiveness.

Anything may be the object of a tne, but there is probably not a single Bambara family which does not have some animal as tne. Expressions which the natives in general and the Bambara in particular use to make foreigners understand their relations with this animal tne have made many Europeans think that the native regards the animal as a relative in the literal sense of the word. This is not the case, as we have just seen, and consequently Bambara totem is a purely European invention (1). [225]

1. It should be understood that the tne has many sources besides one mentioned here, which is the only one pertinent to this chapter. Thus, Bala refused to pronounce any word having the syllable da (p.); Sounsan abstained from the kulé (p. . . footnote 1).

596 614 621 608 II. The oath. In native society, a man who is ambitious or merely anxious to establish a powerful community can do so only with the support of faithful allies. Massa and Biton not only succeeded in dominating their young companions, but they also bound them closely through the oath and the cult.

Undoubtedly all the founders of powerful communities have not proceeded in exactly the same way, but all of them have employed analogous methods. An isolated individual can accomplish nothing in this social milieu where everything rests on these strongly organized collectivities, the communities. Any Bambara eager for well-being and peace will seek out and attach himself to a "powerful protector" (dyigi seme) capable of providing him with this security, even if it means the loss of his own

596 614 621 608 freedom. That is why any important fa is invariably surrounded by a small group of intimates who are bound to his fate, often by a reciprocal agreement based on an oath.

One of these sacramental alliances is particularly solemn; its purpose is to create a kind of kinship analogous to that which links blood brothers. There is always a profound difference between natural and contractual brotherhood, since the former exists and produces its effects independently of the will of those involved, whereas the latter exists and is valid only within the limits agreed upon by the contracting parties (1).

1. It should be noted that fraternization in its symbolic form has a necessary consequence which is not obligatory for other types of alliance by oath: it obligates the descendants of the contracting parties just as much as those undertaking the contract.

For a pact of brotherhood (dyonge) (2), the contracting

2. This term unquestionably derives from the verb siri, "to link, to unite."

parties, whether two or several, proceed as they see fit, either in public or privately in the presence of only close relatives and intimates. Each party to the agreement pricks his forearm and extracts a few drops of blood. The blood thus obtained is mixed with a small quantity of goat's milk in a receptacle. Calling upon the ancestors or some god chosen for the occasion to bear witness, each party in turn promises with a solemn oath to consider the others as his brothers. At the same time, he repeats the [228] conditions of the pact and finally sips some of the liquid.

This is the closest alliance that two Bambara can contract (1). Among other things, it forbids one to marry women

1. Blood-brotherhood was contracted

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between Deni-ba Bo for the Massa-si of Kaarta and Suleyman Ba for the people of Fouta.

belonging to the other's community, at least virgins or women reputed to be such. This is because a first sexual contact is likely to result in some flow of blood, and brotherhood imposes a terrible punishment on anyone who sheds the blood of a blood-brother or one of his people. As is apparent, the obligation undertaken by the contracting parties holds for all their descendants, regardless of sex and in infinitum. Henceforth there is a very close solidarity between the two communities, who are so bound to mutual aid that, in practice, anything (including lies, slander, and perjury) is permissible to overcome a common enemy or, in any event, to help the ally in trouble.

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In place of the brotherhood oath, many other forms of oath can be used. Thus, the chronicles tell of Sounsan and Fa Sinè forming an alliance with an oath which was undoubtedly binding, because the anvil on which it was sworn was afterwards cast into a well. Nko, Sounsan's god, received the oath under which the "young men" who were Massa's companions allied themselves to the latter's fate. At Ségou, the tondyon' likewise swore loyalty on the idols.

These sacramental agreements are endlessly varied, but they bind the parties only under the stipulated conditions, especially as regards the respective communities of the fa who take the oath.

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III. Marriage. There is no better way for a Bambara to show his attachment to someone whose alliance or friendship he desires than by giving him as a wife one of the girls of his own community and providing her with a generous dowry. This is one of the most solemn forms of alliance between communities (2).

2. People united by marriage are called furu-nyuan' (spouses) and biran' (allies).

596 This conjugal union differs clearly from [227] ordinary
614 forms of marriage. In view of the fact that the husband gets a
621 wife without paying a bride price for her, the wife is not given
583 in usufruct, and therefore she must be treated with the greatest consideration or she may be taken back. The situation can only be normalized if the husband is rich enough to present to the donor a gift equal to or preferably, if possible, greater than the dowry brought by the wife, or he may give a similar gift to the wife (1).

1. Such property is the wife's paraphernalia.

In these situations also, the procedure varies a great deal. The donor may offer a girl from another community and provide her with a dowry. This is what Biton did in order to bind Ngolo to him: Biton gave him a girl designated by the marabouts as one of the elect, and he also provided the girl with a rich dowry.

The significance of such alliances can be estimated only when one has some knowledge of the intentions of the parties involved, especially those of the donor. We shall see one important type in the chapter on Islam, the marriage of Allah.

IV. The common cult (2). The territorial community.

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2. Communities may be united under the protection of the same god. Here we shall study only their union under the protection of the "genie, master of the earth" (nyana dugu-da-siri). Other common cults will be studied in the following chapter, "Brotherhoods."

In the mind of the Bambara, the earth, together with everything in it, is the property of the spirits. As a result, no one may make use of it or presume to settle on or cultivate an unused field without first going through certain ceremonies.

For this purpose, either on his own responsibility or, more often, with the aid of "the one who knows" (don-na-ba), a

Relations between the Elements of the Clan

614 596 A study of the clan of Ségou is fortunately clarified by comparison with the organizations which we have discussed earlier: communities and brotherhoods. [306]

The influence of the community and the brotherhood on the clan is clearly shown by the two traits which reveal the consistent effort made by the fama to fuse the clan with his own patriarchy. First, there is the connection of the important ton'-dyon' chiefs and, through them, of all of the furu-dyon' to the fama. This is achieved by placing each of these dyon'-kuntigi under the patronage of an influential member of that patriarchy. Under Mamari and Ngolo, for instance, each of these dyon'-kuntigi was attached to the mother, wife, son, or brother of the fama. The ton'-masa himself asked to be put under the protection of Bakari, son of Mamari.

794 From another viewpoint, the liaison between the clan and the patriarchy of the fama is made even closer by the participation of the ton'-dyon' in the personal cults of Mamari. Some of them were leading officients of the cults; it was precisely this circumstance that enabled Ngolo to dominate his companions.

It is therefore not too rash to state that under these conditions the clan is merely a kind of extension of the patriarchy of the fama. Besides, the ton'-dyon' always made a point of the bonds which in so many ways linked them to Mamari and which established a real brotherhood between them. That is why, first of all, their cult honored Mamari as though he were an ancestor. Secondly, it was the reason for the mode of succession which was imposed during periods of anarchy, bringing to power the man longest in Mamari's service. Finally, for the same reason, when the fama dies, the ceremonies are exactly like those for a patriarch.

614 There is another consequence: the prosperity, the power, and even the existence of the clan depend essentially on the personal qualities of the fama. When he is equal to the task, the clan is rich and powerful. If he lacks authority or is unable to assign each member a position and a role and keep him there, opposition will at once arise. By its very nature, such opposition inevitably separates the elements that go to make up the clan,

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3. Delafosse, Haut-Sénégal et Niger [Upper Senegal and Niger].

4. Labouret, Les Mandingues et leur langue [The Mandingo and Their Language].

etc., but these are still very fragmentary and incomplete. In addi-
177 tion, this society was completely disrupted by the French conquest, either by such radical measures as the suppression of slavery or by a natural evolution as a result of contact with European societies. Nevertheless, traditional structures retain their vitality, despite the effort to adapt them to European formulas.

178 The society seems to have oscillated between familial anarchy and the clan stage, according to alternating ranges of groupings, disassociation, and regroupings.

1. The Family

594 Concerning the Sudanese, Delafosse has already made the
● 596 distinction between "the restricted family" and the "extended family." The restricted family is composed of the parents and children who live in the "hut." Taken alone, it does not represent a social unit. The true social cell is the extended family. This is the large united family made up of a group of restricted families whose heads recognize a common ancestor. This group, composed of agnates in principle, is the ba-denya, whose members live in huts within an enclosure: gwa or so. The two ends of this [51] enclosure rest on a blõ (vestibule) where the ancestors' altar is found.

601 According to Labouret, the Bambara distinguish three cate-
612 gories of family ties: the paternal line, the maternal line, and relationship by marriage. The child takes the dyamu (honorable name) of his father's group, but the terms applied to ancestors and descendants are the same as those of the maternal line.

"... Kinship includes the following generations: tolo-mina... tolo-sama... tolo-ma-sama: who seizes or pulls ears (a belief has it that if a great grandson pulls the ear of his great
[829] grandfather, the latter becomes deaf);

603 alliance]. (It is also customary for grandfathers and grandsons to eat together, while the sons eat apart.)

612 601 c. By Marriage: T'ɛ, K'ɛ, Kɛ = husband's name, corresponding to muso (muso, term for spouse [female?]).

Bira nk'ɛ = father-in-law, son-in-law, brother-in-law, and all the male relatives of the husband or wife, corresponding to bira-muso = mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, and all female relatives of the husband or wife.

587 When a man dies, his wives go to his younger brother; and if a man's wife dies, he may marry her younger sister . . .

582 611 This patrilineal and patrilocal family must have grafted itself onto an ancient matrilineal system (see the chapter on inheritance and position of women). The systems of clan exogamy and endogamy are united: two pairs of brothers and sisters marry among themselves; sons must take their wives from their mother's family, and marriages take place between cross-cousins; children never belong to their parents' category, while grandchildren and grandparents always are in the same category.

583 [53] We shall see that alongside this matrimonial system in which wives are exchanged there exists a system in which payments are made to the fa of the young girl.

596 The size of the united family varies, but it may include more than 80 persons. Labouret (1) gives us, as an example, the composition

1. Op. cit.

of the blõ of Ngolo Traoré at Mpiéla, Kolokani subdivision:

	Men	Women	Children
1. Household of Ngolo	1	8	15
2. Household of Samba, Ngolo's brother	1	2	4
3. Household of Dotné, Samba's son	1	2	3
4. Household of Denkoro, son of deceased Bakoro	1	3	1
5. Household of Fabugai, Ngolo's son .	1	2	4
6. Quarters of unmarried males, all sons of Ngolo and Samba . . .	5		
	10	17	19 [sic]
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596 The fa. -- The whole of this family obeys the same head: the fa. The fa is designated by a council of elders when he fulfills the following conditions: first, not to refuse the faya and to be a member of the community, that is, actually to live within the community; [567] next, he must never have been a slave, and he must not have settled abroad without hoping to return home. In addition, he must be a legitimate child, that is to say, born in wedlock, and the firstborn. [848] In principle, the faya passes from older to younger brother (in the classificatory sense of the term). Thus, the fa is always the member of each generation closest to the ancestor. Finally, the fa must be able, that is, healthy, active, and a good administrator. Often the fa designates his successor before his death. The successor may assume power only 40 days after the death of the last fa, and after being recognized as head of the family by the assembly of elders. From that moment on, he exercises his functions, come what may.

The fa has charge of, and the moral and physical responsibility for, the whole community. He directs and protects all the members of the family. These latter can escape his authority only by leaving the village for good; they are then considered to be dead members. (The descendants of the fa by his daughters are outside of the community; they belong to the patriarchal communities of their respective fathers.)

The fa, head of the family, lives under the administrative dependence of the head of the village.

2. From Family to Community

621 The true social unit is the community. Ties of kinship and marriage unite groups without racial or ethnic unity.

622 a. Patriarchal Organization of the "Ton." -- All the family heads obey a village head: it is on him that the responsibility falls for the organization of the community territory, as well as the responsibility for administering justice when contention arises between followers of different faya. The village chief is generally master of the land: dugu-kolo-tigi; sometimes [54] he cedes his rights to a village administrative chief younger than himself, but in matters of religion he remains all-powerful, and each year he receives gifts from the different family heads for the needs of the common cult. He also

423 621 622 Thus, the man holding the land can neither sell it nor take any action regarding it which would involve the interests of the whole community; but he can rent it out, pledge it, or [62] cede it, which leads to manifold disputes at the time of redistribution of the land in the case of cyclical cultures.

621 622 652 The dugu-tigi also prepares the community's budget. The resources include: gifts made to the gods, thanksgiving offerings for the hunt, for the fishing catch, and for the millet harvest, payments for concession of land or for services rendered, rent of community goods (fixed revenues or exceptional tribute), receipts from fines, confiscations, escheatage, and finally, the extraordinary aid formerly obtained for war, constructions, etc.

[65] 746 Among the expenditures are included the cost of supporting members of the community if need be, of maintaining the proper appearance, assistance to the sick, and, especially, the tax or tribute formerly paid to the sovereign, legitimate or not, and today paid to the French administration.

● 596 The family patrimony (tien) is administered by the fa, head of the family. A. Aubert (1) gives us the composition of this

> 1. A. Aubert, Coutume bambara (cercle de Bougouni) [Bambara Custom (Bougouni Circle)].

patrimony which includes: "Rights on the lands cultivated by the community; animals; serfs; money owed and money owing; the dowries of the daughters and women who are issue of members of the settlement; the inheritances; the dwellings of the settlement and their furnishings; the foodstuffs of the communal granaries (foro-ba), and, in general, all wealth resulting from the communal work of the family members."

Moreover, the fa must: "see to the material life of all the members of the family; provide dowries for the women of the community; pay back the dowries of the women of the community who are to be divorced; ransom members of the family who are taken prisoner or are sold, and pay taxes in goods or in money."

b. Organization of Work

241 621 Work on the land is the only kind of work suitable for free men, for to work the land is to purify it. All agricultural operations [622 are set in motion by the dugu-tigi and are regulated by the fa who ●519 assigns tasks by age classes. Each member of the community must work for it every day, except Monday and Thursday, from dawn to about 4:30 p.m. He may be helped, or even replaced, by his children and his captives. The rest of the time he may work for himself in his personal field or in the little fields situated along the water courses and the rivers, which are not periodically redistributed and are considered almost as personal and hereditary property. The fruit of this labor constitutes the personal savings of the community member.

316 423 The exploitation of the subsoil is governed by other rules which we still know only imperfectly. Like the soil, the subsoil belongs to the master of the land. Iron ore was extracted solely by the [326] blacksmith who paid the master of the land a rent in the form of hoes or axes. To exploit the gold mines, thousands of natives went in family groups to the placers at the beginning of the dry season. [63] The location of the placers was determined by the priests and changed every year. The men dig multiple small holes very close to each other, which may go very deep depending on the depth of the barren layer. When the calabashes of gold-bearing earth are brought up, the women wash the earth. The placers are abandoned at the beginning of the rains after three or four months of exploitation. Before the French occupation, gold was the exclusive property of the Fama and could in no case be the object of commerce. To- [439] day, gold is generally sold at the placers to Syrian, native, or European merchants, who have established veritable shops at the mining centers, shops which contain everything necessary for the miner's life.

463 554 The exercise of a profession other than the cultivation of the land is reserved to artisans who are accorded the insulting name of nyaman-kala, for only work on the land is noble work. These artisans form separate families in every Sudanese society, which has caused Europeans to call them, improperly, people of caste. They are divided into independent guilds.

177 241 473 order to cultivate peanuts, sunflowers, millet, and cotton. Every three years, the company distributes green manure crops in order to reconstitute the soil's humus. Moreover, the company has created veritable villages to house its technicians and the colonists.

177 241 312 433 Other organizations, such as the Niger Office, have charge of the basic water control of the central delta (dams, large canals). Thanks to the creation of a network of waterways, to the clearing and de-stumping of lands, and to the development of general equipment (processing factories, workshops, stores, dwellings, road network), the end of 1949 saw 11,000 hectares of rice fields, with a yield of 18 quintals of paddy and a commercial production of 8,000 metric tons of husked rice. Six thousand hectares have been prepared either for growing cotton (2,000 hectares), for growing rice for food (1,000 hectares), or for lying fallow (3,000 hectares). These fields permit the exportation of 360 metric tons of cotton fiber. Twenty-two thousand persons have been settled as colonists. Finally, let us note that the F.I.D.E.S. by its financial support has permitted the development of peanut cultivation in Senegal, of rice in Guinea and the Sudan, of karite in Upper Volta, as well as the creation of several technical schools.

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c. Social Consequences

177 596 241 This technical evolution has profound repercussions on the native way of life. We notice the same change in the Bambara peasant as in the Bambara artisan. The large united family which was [78] the cornerstone of agricultural technique tends to split up more and more, even in the regions where the traditional farming methods are still used. The family field, a great deal less carefully tended than in the past, gives way in importance to the individual's field. Moreover, the family field traditionally was at the end of a path bordered by small individual fields where each peasant went to work for himself before and after the collective labor. Today, we see the creation of individual fields in the brush far from the path which leads from the village to the family field, clearly indicating the desire of the individual to separate himself from the large family and to escape the control of the farming chief in order to realize personal benefits for himself, not subject to family inspection.

177 Finally, the breaking up of the family cell is manifest in the in-
596 creasing number of children who prefer to work as farm laborers far
241 from their home country rather than submit to the tutelage of the farming chief.

177 The economic transformation proceeds due to electrification
377 (regulation of the great falls near Conakry and those of Sotuba near
489 Bamako) and the creation, alongside the old strategic roads, of commercial roads and bridges to facilitate shipping peanuts, rice, cotton, and millet. The ports and wharfs are being put in order, the railroad network being modernized (increasing the matériel, transforming beds and embankments, repairing the tracks, installing and extending yards, improving the depots, constructing stations, buffets, hotels, cheap housing for the employees). On the Niger, improvements are being made in the river ports of Koulikoro, Ségou, Mopti, Bamako, and Gao, and, on the Senegal, of Kayes and Saint-Louis.

177 Finally, the new economy is accompanied by social accomplishments in the fields of health, education, and urbanization.

d. Chambers of Commerce

Thus, two forms of economic organization exist side by side in Bambara country: on the one hand, the traditional and artisan native organization, and, on the other, the European organization which has shattered the ancient society and has put the local economy of the country within the framework of international economy.

177 But it is perhaps in the realm of commerce that the influence
441 of European methods has been most felt, particularly in the creation of Chambers of Commerce, Agriculture and Industry.

The creation of Chambers of Commerce dates from a decree of the Governor General in 1906. Members are elected for four years and are re-eligible. They are elected by an electoral college made up of the chiefs of French or African commercial establishments. The function of these Chambers is to give the administration advice and information when requested on any question of an economic nature.

The Chambers of Agriculture and Industry have substantially the same organization as the Chambers of Commerce, but in addition they are called on by the governors to group and codify the local customs [79] and usages of an agricultural character. These reports serve as the

582 The Bambara tné differs further from the totem of the Redskin
614 and the Australian: it creates no obstacle to marriage between lineages of the same tne or of different tne. Each man takes a wife wherever he finds her and where he thinks best, and through these alliances the lineages mingle, cross, and recross. They do not merge, however,
[537] since the husband keeps his name, or diamou, and with it his tné; he does not take that of his wife. As to the children, they have their father's tné, and his only, and it is his name, or diamou, they bear. /22/

784 The Bambara tné is nothing less than a taboo /sic/. The word itself is very vague and difficult to translate into our French language. It implies primarily a prohibitive command, an order not to do, not to act. Whenever a competent authority -- an alleged genie, such as a boli (who speaks and gives his oracles through the mouth of a herald or interpreter, the djélimac) or a priest of the genii (djiné) believed to preside over the elements, the dougoutigi (who actually does nothing without consulting his council and the sorcerers) whenever the sorcerer (the intermediary between man and the invisible world) or a priest of the shades of the ancestors' (1) --, that is, an

[596]

1. This term seems to me the most accurate. Undoubtedly, the gouatigi, or head of the family makes the sacrifices, but his position does not always correspond to what we call in French the father of the family. He is not always married; although all the family except his mother, brothers, and sisters call him m'fa, "my father," the word "father" should be taken in a very broad sense, as he is quite often only a grand-uncle, an uncle, or a cousin.

authority of a religious character, forbids eating, killing, or looking at an animal; cutting, breaking, or using an object; drinking such-

776
796 this boli from the belt and hanging
782 it at the side along the thigh.

three most famous sorcerers, whose names -- Makono, Tjewolo, and Tjéba -- have been preserved, but whose origin is lost in the dark of ages, sacrificed to it by preference. This is the formula:

"Touafé Bla, Touafé Bla, the mountain of Touafé Bla is known, the trees of this mountain are known, I want to speak of the fire of its mountain. Touafé Bla, spare some houses (meaning: 'those of my friends') and go and kindle (your fire) in others (meaning: 'cast ruin and desolation among my enemies, among those who wish me ill'). Touafé Bla, favor me, and if I cannot see your fire, Touafé Bla, let me at least see the tip of its long column of smoke (meaning: 'you live in the fire; I cannot see your dwelling, but I can still know your power through the smoke of your fire, that is to say, /I shall know it/ if I am a witness of the misfortunes which you will cause to fall on my enemies and those whom I hate')." /73/

This formula shows us clearly that the boli, or gnâ, live in fire. The Negroes sacrificed to them before the arrival of the Moslems, and gave concrete form to their concept of the infernal spirit, just as they do today, by decking themselves out in a hideous horned mask and a cloak of feathers. Their blowing and shouting in the sacred woods on the days of great orgies have remained the same, and although they have taken the words sétané شيطان and djahanéma جهنم from the Moslems, they have had the concept for a long time. [192]

776 Now then, as to the Bambaras' knowledge of the Supreme Being,
181 God the Creator and Ruler, Lord of all, do they owe it to the Moslems?

●596 The Bambara have too hierarchical a nature to need a master here! The youngest child is always the slave of the next older brother, who is the slave of an older one, and so the progression moves up invariably without ever changing, to the grey beard, the elder, the tjekoroba, a real fetish whom everyone obeys, whatever his stupidity, his narrowness of mind, or his lack of judgment.

In every family there is the same progression: the immediate lord of the children is their father, while he in turn bows before his

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776 elders; and above them, as undisputed lord, soars the eldest, the
181 gouatigi, or head of the family.

All the gouatigi are subject to heads of quarters, led by the
776 dougoutigi, (1) or village heads; these obey the kafotigi, or heads of
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1. The dougoutigi, or religious head of the village, takes precedence over the sotigi, or civil head. I believe that since the time of Carrier, administrator of the circle in 1901, this hierarchy as such has been officially done away with. It persists nevertheless, and the kafotigi and fama déou, priestly in character, secretly retain their prestige.

the canton, who in turn are governed by the fama déou, sons of the king or ministers. Such was the original organization of the Bambara, and all these petty chiefs, were absolute and uncontested lords, each in his own sphere.

776 Above them all there was the king, Fama or Massa (2), whose
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2. The word Massa, used to designate the king, also means "great and powerful sorcerer." In the beginning the king really had absolute power, both civil and religious, and was really the prince or pope of fetishism. If he were not, would he have been given the title of Massa, "great priest," "great sorcerer?"

chief function was to allow himself to live in affluence and /74/ sweet idleness. He held all his subjects in his hands; all were his slaves, from the least to the highest, and he had the power of life and death over each and every one.

224 778 These little hunters' fetishes have no festival or formal sacrifice. Some ultimately gain great renown in the ranks of our "Nimrods," however, and then they come in large numbers bringing black pullets. The master of the idol then chooses a day for a strictly private drinking bout at which only initiates of the hunter sect are present.

778 596 The most powerful of all the boli whose influence is slight are the boli of the hut or the family, the familial boli to which the heads of families, the gouatigi, sacrifice. These take practically all shapes: they are horns, balls coated with blood resembling all the tubers of creation, all kinds of tomatoes and eggplants, napkin rings, etc. -- in sum, horrors, each wrapped in a very dirty, filthy goatskin. They are to be found hung in the b'lon, or entry hut, together with the ex voto, a package of goat skulls carefully emptied and stripped of flesh. The family boli are legion, and it is impossible to know them all. The most widespread and the most highly valued are the ma bara, the sirini, the bala, the bara, the baga (1), and the bama-n-djigi.

1. A boli is always made of several pieces, each with a special name. All these pieces are called boli dé. Among the boli dé there is one which is called boli dén fa. One piece of the baga is a thong which forms a belt that the sacrificer puts around his thighs, all covered with blood, before proceeding with the individual sacrifices. The baga protects against bullets, arrows, and spears. Some baga are famous, and Negroes go to find the masters of these fetishes and receive from them a small facsimile of the baga belt.

778 At the annual sacrifice the gouatigi, or head of the family,
596 offers a goat and at least a hen and a kola nut for each male child no
782 matter how strained his circumstances or how slight his self-respect. He also offers d'lo, or millet beer, and all his family make merry.
[574] Some even do things in a big way, and although the whole village does not take part in the drinking bout, all the old men are invited, and many close friends come from everywhere.

778 The family boli take the interests of the head of the family in
596 their hands; they are responsible for driving away illness and reverses of fortune. /138/ Through them one gains many descendants, wealth, wives, a happy and lively old age, honor and respect. They are also appealed to on all occasions in life that are of the slightest importance. Before a long journey is undertaken or a business venture is entered into, when a disaster threatens or there is a possibility of a piece of unhoped-for good fortune, they are reddened with a trickle of blood. Sacrifice is also made to them at harvest time (many are even called by the generic name of gno four, "millet medicine"), but especially at circumcisions and excisions, at betrothals, marriages, and funerals. The tne, or "taboo," of these fetishes (see above, p. 5ff.), is taboo for each wife's eldest son, and sometimes the whole family makes it its own.

4. Boli whose Power is Great

778 I call powerful boli all those gnâ of every shape and size whose
782 worship is secret and in whose mysteries only those participate who
796 have been initiated into the rites, after having sworn on their lives never to reveal them. Countless victims are offered to these boli; some of them are always warm and are ceaselessly reddened with blood. At the annual festivals not only is there a hecatomb of roosters and hens, but dogs and goats by the dozen also die, and in Bani country I have seen as many as five or six sacrificers working at the same time. This is the great and true Bambara worship, and it gives rise to orgies of four to eight days; it eclipses the ancient worship, that